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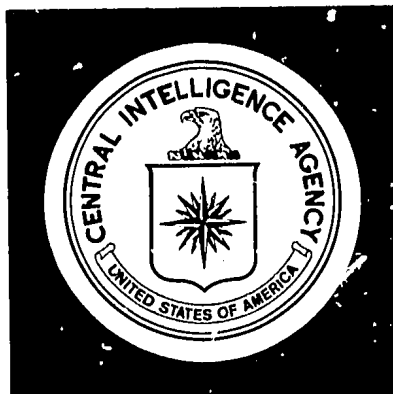
USSR Institute of the USA and Canada: Guide to Sov. US-Watchers

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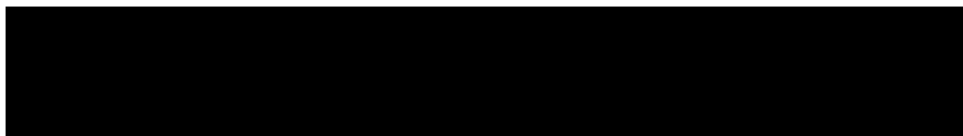
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*USSR Institute of the USA and Canada:
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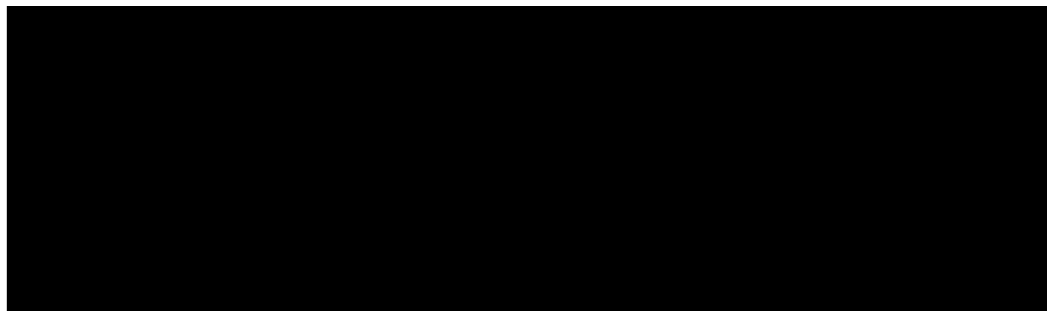
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PREFACE



The information in this publication is current as of 1 January 1975. This publication supersedes CR R 70-8, *USSR Institute of the USA: Guide to Soviet US-Watchers*, published in August 1970. An updated version of this publication will be issued when warranted by new information and/or personnel changes in the institute. Readers are asked to notify the Central Reference Service (CRS) of any omissions or inaccuracies, and those who can supply additional information [redacted] are urged to forward it to CRS.

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This report was prepared by the Central Reference Service and was coordinated within CIA as appropriate. Comments and questions may be directed to [redacted]

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INSTITUTE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA

The USA Institute was set up in November 1967 as a result of the desire of Soviet policymakers to establish a reservoir of personnel knowledgeable on the subject of American domestic and foreign policy. The only Soviet institute initially designed to concentrate its research on one country, it studies nearly every aspect of US affairs, including economics, politics and, increasingly, management and scientific and technological developments. (It now also covers Canada.) Subordinate to the Economics Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, it is basically an academic research institute with the capacity to grant advanced degrees; that is, it emphasizes research, not teaching.

Role in Policymaking

The institute does not have a formal voice in Soviet policymaking. It observes, analyzes and informs on US policies, opinions and attitudes. The institute's director, Georgiy Arbatov, occasionally does advise Soviet officials on policy toward the United States, however. In addition, institute personnel, acting as consultants, have sometimes provided support to policymaking officials, i.e., members of the Foreign Ministry's Foreign Policy Planning Administration, who coordinate input from outside experts on special problems such as the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT).

The USA Institute initiates studies, accepts requests, and uses various means to provide the Soviet leadership with greater insight into, and a more total picture of, the United States. It receives temporary help, when necessary, from government Ministries and institutes, i.e., a loan of economists from the Foreign Ministry or the State Planning Committee (Gosplan). Other Soviet research institutes and governmental bodies frequently ask the USA Institute for specific information on the United States. Director Arbatov has the authority to accept or refuse these projects, and he claims he accepts only the most interesting.

Similarity to US "Think Tanks"

Georgiy Arbatov and his researchers have refused to compare their institute to US think tanks such as the Rand Corporation; nevertheless, the two organizations have similar roles. To an increasing extent, the USA Institute is making forecast studies on various aspects of the United States and US-Soviet relations, in some instances up to the year 2000. By Soviet standards the institute is avant-garde in its experimentation with new approaches and techniques. Since 1972 its researchers have enthusiastically

undertaken model building and political-military gaming. The institute's program has included separate task force studies on US policy toward China, Western Europe and Japan; on military strategy; on mutual and balanced force reduction; on the Nixon doctrine; and on the feasibility of joint US-USSR economic ventures.

Importance of Arbatov's Role

It is primarily because of Arbatov's administrative and political skill, in addition to his personal connections, that the institute has become an innovative and flexible organization. He has a sensitivity for what is both bureaucratically acceptable and, at the same time, beneficial to his own career. Arbatov himself said as recently as October 1973 that no one at the institute has the ability or the connections to replace him as director. He has personally established informal contacts with Soviet leaders, including Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and Premier Aleksey Kosygin. Both institute members and Arbatov are proud that he was included in Brezhnev's official party for the 1973 summit talks in the United States.

Arbatov has been a good public relations man for his institute. He has made his organization's capabilities and potential known to both Soviets and Americans who count. He sees to it that his men attend international meetings, i.e., the Pugwash and Dartmouth Conferences, and he provides speakers to organizations throughout the Soviet Union. One of the goals he has established for the institute is to host at least two influential American academic, business, political or government figures each month. Arbatov's and his subordinates' frequent US visits are advertised as familiarization and research expeditions, but they also serve as self-promoting junkets to establish exploitable connections at home and abroad.

Personnel

Clearance, Education, Background

Director Arbatov has personally selected the staff of the USA Institute, currently totaling about 300. Half of these are professional researchers and half are support staff. Those selected are young—the average age has been reported both as 29 and as under 35—relatively sophisticated, and undogmatic. They are well mannered and sharply dressed. To be accepted at the institute, one must speak English and undergo investigation by the Committee for State Security (KGB). Most members hold degrees in the social sciences. A few, however, have degrees in technical or military sciences. The majority have graduated from either the Foreign Ministry's Institute of International Relations or Moscow State University.

Researchers have come to the USA Institute from various backgrounds; the highest percentage, however, are from the media and the Foreign Ministry. Other organizations represented include academic institutions, the

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Ministry of Defense (retired military) and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. About 30 researchers have had experience in the United States, either at the Soviet Embassy in Washington or at the Soviet Mission to the United Nations in New York.

When the institute was first established, Arbatov hired experienced researchers from various Soviet organizations as his staff. Now that he has a personnel base to work with, he prefers to train his potential researchers at the institute. Currently there are about 30 or 40 graduate students being trained. If they pass the institute's examinations, they may receive candidate degrees (roughly equivalent to a US doctorate) after 3 years and become junior members. About 65 percent of the successful students are initially sent to the United States for brief familiarization periods.

It has been variously reported that from one-third to two-thirds of the institute personnel are members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). A delegation of White House Fellows visiting the USA Institute in June 1973, however, were told that 75 percent of the institute staff members were Party members or members of the Communist Youth League (Komsomol).

The institute's connection with and interest in the military is strong. At least six institute members are retired from the Soviet Army or Navy. Some institute personnel actively participate in an inter-institute arms control group. This group is thought to be a joint staff composed of members from the USA Institute and the Institute of World Economics and International Relations; the staff is chaired by Arbatov.

The KGB Connection

The extent of the institute's affiliation with the KGB and the Defense Ministry's Main Intelligence Directorate (GRU) is difficult to determine. Some connections, if not their particular significance, can be observed, however. Director Arbatov has personal and career ties to KGB Chief Yuriy Andropov; these ties date from the early 1960's, when both men worked in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus. An institute deputy director, Vasiliy Romanovich Sitnikov, selected in the fall of 1973 and apparently dismissed in February 1974, has had a long career in increasingly responsible KGB positions. Several lesser officials have had intelligence affiliations; the intelligence connections of others are only alleged or suspected. Of the staff members identified, it would appear that about 15 percent have or have had an intelligence affiliation.

Competence

With the exception of Arbatov, the institute members are not particularly competent by Western standards. Of the identified staff members, only the director is affiliated with the USSR Academy of Sciences; he is a full member of the academy. Some institute members are bright and

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promising; most have fairly good qualifications in their specific fields. US observers have complained, however, that USA Institute researchers sometimes lack a sophisticated understanding of their own country's policies. The researchers are eager to discuss any aspect of American affairs, but they have frequently demonstrated a reluctance to talk in any depth about Soviet policies and problems.

It is probably the uniqueness of these researchers in the Soviet Union more than their expertise that has given them their status. Some observers feel that the institute members are overrated and that they have at times demonstrated a superficial grasp of the Western World, playing the game of "expert through ventriloquy"—the practice of absorbing US commentary on various issues and replaying it when appropriate. Many members conscientiously try to observe the United States objectively; in practice, however, they have had limited success. To expect a sophisticated knowledge and understanding of the United States from researchers in a closed society may be unfair, however.

As a whole, the institute members are an elite and privileged group. In addition to opportunities to travel abroad and to meet visiting Westerners, they are reported to have limousines at their disposal, nice apartments and the prettiest secretaries. Located in cramped quarters in an eighteenth-century townhouse in downtown Moscow, the institute is soon scheduled to occupy a



USA Institute, G-69, Khlebnyy Pereulok, 2/3, Moscow (1972)

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second building across the street. Arbatov was reportedly offered more spacious and comfortable quarters in the Moscow suburbs but, predictably, declined to move away from the action.

Representatives Abroad

The institute usually assigns a few young researchers to the United States for 6 to 12 month periods. They work either at the Soviet UN Mission in New York City or at the Embassy in Washington. Their assignments in this country usually relate to the subject of their candidate's degree dissertations. The institute likes to initiate all new members with a short US visit and to assign them here for longer periods after they have been with the institute for some time. Institute members are also exposed to the United States through short visits arranged under cultural agreements and scientific exchanges.

Since 1970 the institute has apparently had a more senior individual assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Arbatov's longtime friend Vladimir Orlov, First Secretary of the Cultural Section at the Embassy from 1970 until September 1974, was at least partly in the employ of the USA Institute while in Washington. Orlov, a full-time senior researcher at the institute for 4 months prior to his arrival in Washington, was replaced at the Embassy by Igor' Orlenkov, formerly a scientific secretary at the institute.

Organization

Complete information on the organizational structure of the institute is not available. Reorganizations seem to occur frequently, firsthand information is scarce, and names of the units are seldom seen in the original Russian. The names used in this publication for the various units are approximate at best. The status of each unit (i.e., "section" versus "department" versus "division") is even in question, again because of the translation problems. The USA Institute's readily dispensed calling cards, in keeping with general Soviet practice, do not specify which unit the member belongs to.

A May 1974 issue of the institute's journal added some organizational information to that already known. The chart following page xiii reflects the information available to CRS as of January 1975.

The institute's charter calls for a director, three deputy directors and a scientific secretary. Arbatov has been the director since the institute was established. Except for the short period in late 1973 and early 1974 when Sitnikov was a deputy director, the institute has operated with only two deputy directors. Since 1968 the institute has usually had two scientific secretaries—whose functions have been more administrative than substantive—one for dealing with foreigners and one to handle domestic matters. Currently, however, there appears to be only one scientific secretary, Vladimir Krest'yanov; he is responsible for foreign visitors.

A Scientific Council, composed of the director, the deputy directors, the scientific secretary, and the department heads, is the ruling administrative body of the institute. Members of the council elect the institute's researchers to renewable tours of duty of 3 years for junior researchers and 5 years for senior researchers. The appointment of the institute director must be reconfirmed every 5 years by the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In addition, short- and long-term plans for the institute, some suggested by the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, are submitted to the Scientific Council. Arbatov, however, seems to have the last word on the institute's projects.

Three primary areas of research—US foreign policy; US social, domestic political, and ideological problems; and US economics and systems of administration—are covered by five departments. They are: the Foreign Policy Department, the Social, Domestic Political, and Ideological Problems Department, the Economics Department, the Management Department and, according to the May 1974 issue of the institute's journal, a fifth department, so far unidentified.

The Foreign Policy Department is headed by Genrikh Trofimenko. It includes six sections that cover US foreign policy and Soviet-American relations, foreign political and military doctrines and concepts, problems relating to arms limitation and the armed forces, and US policy in various regions (with emphasis on Europe, Asia and the Middle East).

The Social, Domestic Political, and Ideological Problems Department also has six sections. They study social policies, government apparatus, legal problems, social movements, political and ideological trends, and literature. The last subject has only recently been introduced at the institute. It is covered by one person, A. S. Mulyarchik, and is studied because of its influence on US domestic problems and policies. Eduard Ivanyan is thought to be the acting chief of this department. The former chief, Valentin Zorin, is now associated with the institute only as a member of the editorial board of its journal.

The Economics Department is headed by Ivan Ivanov. Its six sections cover US social and economic problems related to developments in science and technology, government regulation of the US economy, the military-industrial complex, and foreign trade and economic policy. The department is interested in US foreign economic expansion, especially as manifest in international corporations and joint economic ventures and concomitant problems, such as technology transfer, patents and licensing. It makes economic projections on a variety of subjects, but most of its economic research is geared to explain current economic conditions.

The institute's Model Building Laboratory, headed by economist Aleksandr Poduzov, is probably subordinate to the Economics Department. Poduzov's work deals with model building for economic and sociopolitical processes. This laboratory is also involved in analyzing international

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situations through political and military gaming. The Foreign Policy Department, therefore, probably also works with the laboratory to some degree.

The Management Department covers US management theory and techniques, project management, operations research and systems analysis. It has also become increasingly interested in social psychology. Established in 1971, the department is headed by Bentsion Mil'ner. It introduced management systems, including computer applications, to the USA Institute.

Through the Management Department, the institute provides management services to many Soviet enterprises, including textile industries in Ivanovo, the Ural Electric Heavy Machinery Plant in Sverdlovsk, and the Kama River Truck Plant. Director Arbatov was at first reluctant to become involved in the massive management problems of the giant truck complex, but he has since allowed members of the department to act as consultants to the plant, using knowledge gained from their US studies.

The functions of the undefined fifth department are not clear. It may deal with military problems, in which case retired Lt. Gen. Mikhail Mil'shteyn is probably the chief. Some information suggests that the fifth department could be a unit concerned with planning information retrieval systems for the institute. During a September 1974 visit to the United States, however, institute director Arbatov denied the existence of a fifth department. He said that military affairs were handled by the Section for Military Aspects of US Foreign Policy, whose chief, he said, is Mil'shteyn. Arbatov reported that the section was subordinate to Genrikh Trofimenko's Foreign Policy Department.

In addition to the five departments listed above, an independent section (not department) was established, probably in 1974, to study the social, political and economic problems of Canada. This section was created because of Canada's increasingly important role in the affairs of the North American continent. Information is currently available on only the head of the Canada Section, Leon Bagramov. The institute has been involved in Canadian studies for at least the past 2 years; the institute's journal has published many articles on Canada since 1973. In January 1975, according to the institute's journal, *USA*, the institute's name was changed to reflect the interest in Canada.

Publications

USA: Economics, Politics, Ideology, the institute's monthly journal, usually referred to as *USA*, was first published in January 1970. Apparently a semi-independent entity, it is housed separately from the institute. Valentin Berezhkov is its chief editor. The journal is reported to have 20 to 30—presumably full-time—employees, including the chief editor, a deputy chief editor, and a responsible secretary. *USA* sells about 35,000 copies each month, including 2,000 copies to foreign subscribers.

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The editorial board of *USA*, which currently has 17 members, has had several personnel changes since July 1972. Its members have included USA Institute personnel, scholars from other institutes, and Party and government notables—including Aleksandr Bovin (January 1970-present), a one-time personal aide to General Secretary Brezhnev; Dzherman Gvishiani (January 1970-October 1972), Premier Kosygin's son-in-law and a Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology; and Vadim Zagladin (January 1970-August 1973), a deputy chief under Politburo member Boris Ponomarev in the CPSU Central Committee's International Department.

USA includes articles by institute members, other Soviet authors, Americans and, more rarely, third country contributors. With two exceptions, no top-level Soviet official has written for *USA*. Ponomarev wrote a report on his May 1974 visit to the United States, and former Politburo member Anastas Mikoyan wrote on his 1936 visit to this country. A number of children of high-level Soviet officials have also contributed to the publication, including Anatoliy Gromyko; Sergo Mikoyan; Lyudmila and Dzherman Gvishiani; and Arbatov's son, Aleksey.

Articles in *USA* reveal little about Soviet policy. The journal is, however, a channel for more in-depth and sophisticated coverage of the United States and its policies than has heretofore been found in the Soviet press. Refreshingly, it lacks the frequent harangues that appear in the Party newspaper *Pravda* and the government organ *Izvestiya*.

In addition to the journal, the USA Institute has published about 25 books and, according to one knowledgeable source, publishes information bulletins on selected international issues. The bulletins are said to include original analysis by the institute researchers. To write for a bulletin is a mark of prestige for the author. Brezhnev's top foreign policy adviser, Andrey Aleksandrov-Agentov, is said to read the bulletins faithfully.

The USA Institute reputedly houses Russia's most complete library on the United States. The library contains issues of some 300 US journals and newspapers, as well as research works and books by prominent authors.

Institute Rivalry

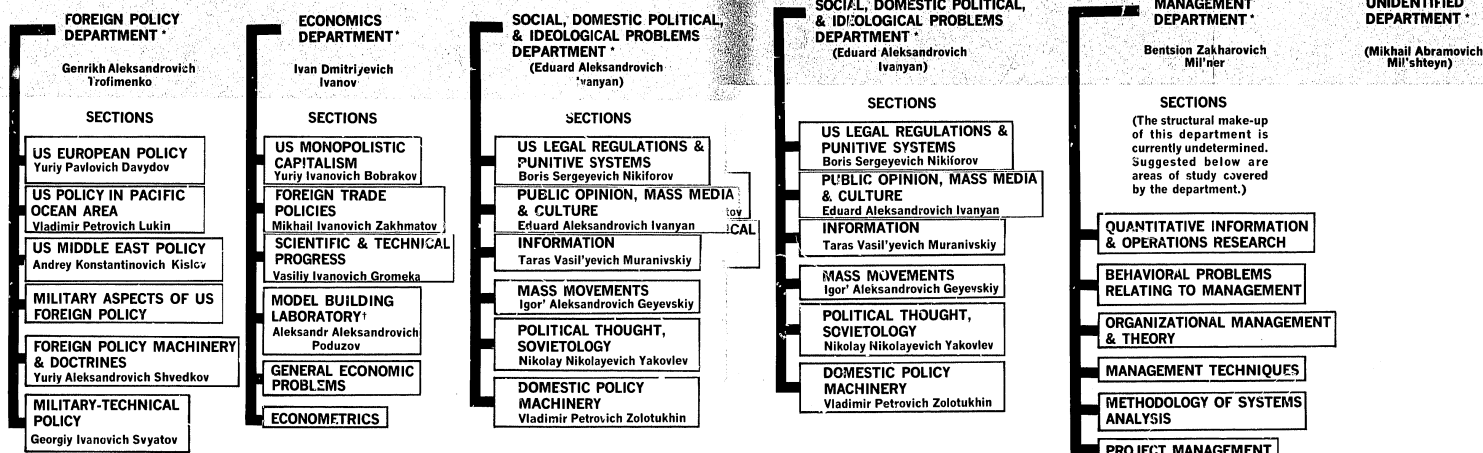
To complete the picture of the USA Institute, something must be said of its much publicized rivalry with the Institute of World Economics and International Relations (IMEMO). The rivalry is more a healthy competition than a feud between the two institutes. The USA Institute and the American Department of the International Relations Division of IMEMO compete for top-flight personnel, assignments, the luxury of being recognized in the Soviet Union and abroad, and a close association with the Soviet leadership. Some USA Institute members have had assignments with IMEMO. Westerners who have met members of both institutes have often found IMEMO personnel more scholarly and more serious about their work than are their USA Institute counterparts.

Georgiy Arbatov and Nikolay Inozemtsev, director of IMEMO, seem to enjoy the same healthy competition as their institutes. They are both respected, relatively liberal-minded directors who are well-known in the world of détente. Inozemtsev is one rung above Arbatov in the Party hierarchy—he is a nonvoting member of the CPSU Central Committee, and Arbatov is only a member of the Central Auditing Commission. They both became deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet in the June 1974 elections. Inozemtsev became a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1968; Arbatov was elected to full membership in late 1974. Inozemtsev seems to have a slight edge on Arbatov in the tally of positions, but Arbatov's ability at self-promotion may give him the advantage.

15 January 1975

**USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT
INSTITUTE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA**

DIRECTOR Georgiy Arkad'yevich ARBATOV		
DEPUTY DIRECTOR Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin	DEPUTY DIRECTOR Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Shershnev	DEPUTY DIRECTOR Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Shershnev
SCIENTIFIC SECRETARY (Foreign Relations) Vladimir Nikolayevich Krest'yanov	SCIENTIFIC SECRETARY (Domestic Affairs) Vladimir Nikolayevich Krest'yanov	



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USA: ECONOMICS, POLITICS, IDEOLOGY
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